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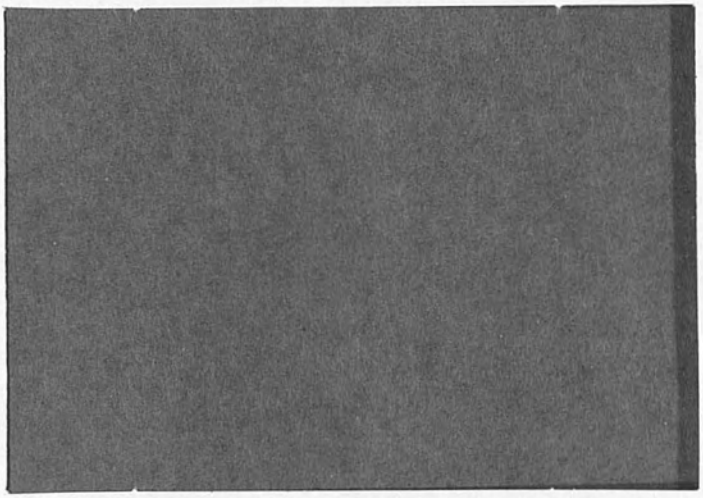

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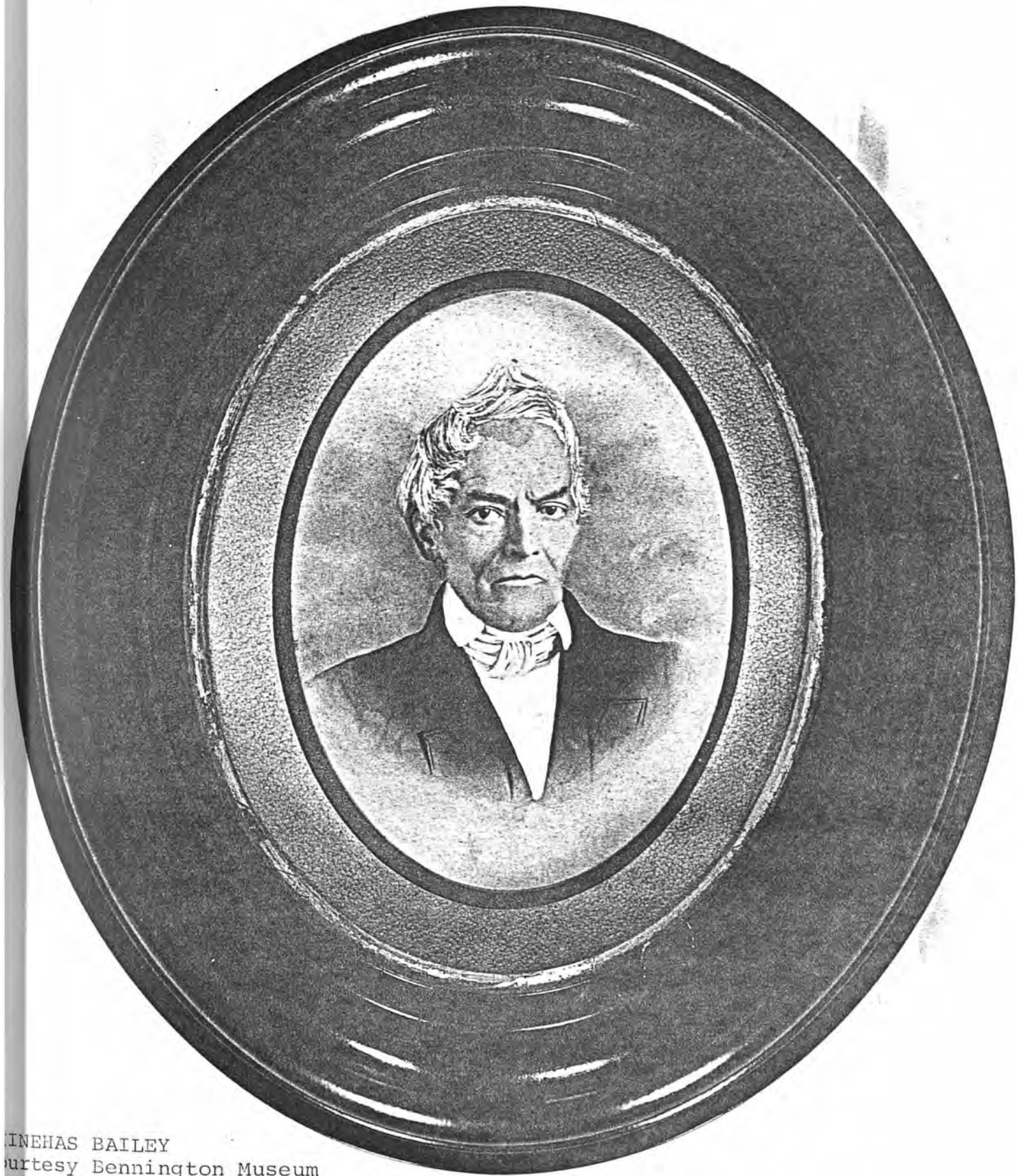

INEHAS BAILEY
ourtesy Bennington Museum

PREFACE

The loose ends of research projects sometimes weave themselves into new fabrics rather than ending in convenient knots. A set of shorthand letters in a collection of papers I had used extensively in my master's thesis research at the University of Vermont piqued my curiosity, and when I finished the thesis in the summer of 1982, there seemed nothing better to do than to unravel the mystery. The Francis L. Hopkins Collection, stored in the Department of Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont, contains the correspondence of Louisa Bailey Whitney, whose career as a missionary to Micronesia from 1871 to 1881 I had documented in my thesis. Louisa's father Phinehas Bailey invented the shorthand system he called Phonography, and as I began to transcribe his letters (principally to and from Louisa) the portrait of a fascinating man emerged.

The first step in the transcription project was to find a manual explaining Bailey's Phonography. I was fortunate to stumble upon Keyes Bailey's Reporter's Guide (1845) first, as it explains Phonography more clearly and in more detail than the manuals published by Keyes's father Phinehas. Had I been waylaid by any of the pre-1831 editions of

"Bailey's Stenography"--published before his phonetic innovations--I would have quickly turned away from the project in discouragement. The transition from simple stenography to practical phonography is one which even the inventor did not make without confusion. By 1845, however, The Reporter's Guide contained all of the short-cuts, contractions, and "double vowels" commonly used by the Bailey correspondents.

After learning the basic rules and most of the phonographic symbols, I began to translate some of the easiest-looking letters in the Hopkins collection. I progressed quickly in the transcriptions but never attempted to learn shorthand for my own use.

Individual variations in the use of Phonography presented occasional problems. Each shorthand symbol, representing only one speech sound, also stands for one or more common words. The o, representing the vowel sound in lot, by itself stands for on or not. Some writers use o for no and know. Phinehas was amused by one of Louisa's inventions: to write the word over-do she placed the o sound symbol [◜], which also stands for over, over the d sound symbol [/], which also stands for do. In this case, the logic of Phonography rested on the double entendre of over rather than the precise rules of usage. "That is probably correct," Phinehas wrote, "but it is the last way I should have thought of." (See reproduction of Phinehas's letter to Louisa, July 16, 1860, on p. viii).

Though I quickly mastered the transcription of the Baileys' letters and learned their individual styles of usage, some words defied me and some other writers proved difficult to decipher. After I had read and reread the letters, often a dozen times or more in order to correct my transcription, I tackled a lecture-sermon by Phinehas Bailey and encountered a whole new series of abbreviations. Where a whole phrase is contracted into a two-line symbol, great patience and, perhaps, a little "faith in God" [ ], are called for. Many quotations Bailey used come directly from the King James version of the Bible, and others are apparently idioms no longer in use.

Some of the passages I had nearly given up on were "decoded" by Kris Peterson-Ishaq and Stacy Blow at the Center for Research on Vermont. Stacy spent many hours deciphering my handwriting for the final typescript of the Bailey letters, which was prepared under the aegis of the Center and deposited in the Department of Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library. I would also like to thank the staff of Special Collections for letting me adopt the Francis L. Hopkins collection for several months and for assisting me in the preparation of an index to the Bailey shorthand letters. Finally, Ruth Levin and David Dangremond at the Bennington Museum generously allowed me to borrow several artifacts from their Phinehas Bailey collection for a display.

Letter from Phinehas Bailey to his daughter Louisa, July 16, 1860

West Albany, July 16, 1860

Beloved daughter Louisa,

We received your letter last Saturday the same day that it was mailed and the next day after it was written. I was much amused by the manner in which you wrote the word "overdo" (written /). This is probably correct but it is the last way I should have thought of.

In my last letter I told you to stay and visit your cousins as long as you pleased and I did not consider it necessary to write again. But Mother is anxious to have me answer your letter for fear that you will return home before you get ready.

We have commenced haying and should be very glad of your company, but we still wish you to stay and visit your cousins as long as you please and if you wish to visit Mr. Edwards and other friends before you return and we should not expect you till Thursday the 26 and then we should be happy to see you if you finish all your calls.

Mother's health is still improving so that she does a part of the work and leaves the remainder to do itself. But I greatly fear that she will "overdo" and have another relapse.

Tuesday 17. We have 3 hands today in the hay field and 2 yesterday. I think my hay will be [lighter] this year than it ever was before. But if I sell all my stock I shall have enough to keep the remainder.

I wrote to you that Sally Janette and Mary had been to Berkshire, but Mother thinks that was a mistake, only Sally Janette was there without Mary.

Mr. Gray has but one Sabbath more to preach here. Nothing is done yet about hiring him another year.

Your poor old father, P. Bailey

Biographies of famous Vermonters include many stories of self-made men and women, entrepreneurs who fashioned success out of adversity. The Reverend Phinehas Bailey, Congregational minister, craftsman, and inventor, epitomized the adaptable character of early New Englanders. When his first career as a clockmaker failed, Bailey took to the road as a traveling repairman. Along the way he taught himself shorthand and began teaching it to others for additional income. Eventually he invented and put into use a fully phonetic system of shorthand. Yet Bailey's greatest ambition was to become a minister of God, a goal he finally achieved at the age of thirty-six. Despite his belated recognition as the inventor of phonetic shorthand--an important technology in the latter half of the nineteenth century--Phinehas Bailey was fundamentally a product of the Second Great Awakening, a Yankee entrepreneur of humble and pious vision.

Born in Landaff, New Hampshire, in 1787, Phinehas was the thirteenth of Abigail and Asa Bailey's seventeen children, two of whom died in infancy. "Probably no two were ever more unequally yoked than they," Phinehas wrote of his parents. Abigail was "generous and kind in all her deportment," but Asa, a veteran of the Revolution, was a cruel and violent man.[1] Evidently Major Bailey accumulated a large amount of land and supported his family comfortably, but while Phinehas was still young, his parents separated. Asa

made the separation as difficult as possible. Under the pretense of selling some land in New York State in order to provide a settlement for his wife, he lured Abigail to a frontier homestead where he intended to reassemble his family and reassert his authority. After a long adventure, Major Bailey was jailed and Abigail reunited with her children in Landaff. In return for his freedom, Bailey eventually agreed to give Abigail $600 from the sale of the New York land and promised never to return to the Upper Connecticut River Valley area.

The six hundred dollars did not last long, and Abigail reluctantly farmed out all but two of her children. At the age of four, Phinehas began living with his recently married sister and her husband in Bath, New Hampshire. Phinehas remembered his years in Bath fondly. Before he was old enough for heavy chores, he spent much time swimming, picking berries, and exploring. His brother-in-law, Stephen Bartlett, taught school for many years and took special care in educating the boy. When Bartlett turned from teaching school to storekeeping, Phinehas lost interest in his studies and spent an increasing amount of time in the workshop where he built "sleds, carts, crossbows, and windmills, and almost every other mechanical enterprise."[2]

Stephen Bartlett owned one farm and rented another but left the management of both to a half-dozen hired hands. Young Phinehas, the only boy in a large household, was in

great demand for errands, and he acquired a variety of mechanical skills. A cheerful and sincere youngster, he often found himself the victim of teasing elders who discovered that Phinehas would give an honest answer to any question, no matter how embarrassing. The only deception he found expedient was in stealing away from anticipated chores to spend time in his workshop.

At the age of fourteen, Phinehas began a seven-year apprenticeship with a watch- and clockmaker in Haverhill, a few miles from Bath. Here he learned the details of constructing brass clocks, which were then in common use, and repairing watches, as well as silversmithing and making jewelry. In Haverhill, also, he began to have religious doubts and entered into a quest for the salvation of his soul.

Throughout the first four decades of the nineteenth century, religious revivals swept New England and the frontier. Thousands converted to Christianity under threats from fire-breathing preachers that the end of the world was imminent. Revivalism appeared in a society vulnerable to epidemics, natural disasters, uncertain rewards for hard labor, and especially, isolation. Evangelical religion strengthened the tenuous bonds of neighborhood in sparsely populated towns as brothers and sisters in Christ were obligated to help each other in times of material and spiritual distress.[3]

Phinehas first resolved to find salvation at the age of sixteen. He asked for the prayers of the Christians at the Free Will Baptist Church, which he had begun to attend regularly, but before long he lost interest in church. He "went back again to sin worse than ever," and began to use profane language. At length his language became so vile he was reproved by a "wicked young man"--an event that shocked him into a modest effort at reform.

The desire to be converted to the true religion of God intensified once more when Phinehas was nineteen. Like most of those converted in a highly charged revival atmosphere, he perceived his experience as an internal struggle between his conscience (or "heart") and his depraved soul. The heart, if blessed through the grace of God, would overrule and save the soul. Throughout the spring of 1806, Phinehas felt an increasing desperation for salvation. One night after prayer meeting, he "retired to a grove" to pray and resolved not to leave until he found Christ.[4] But several hours later he returned home, without Christ, more miserable than ever. The next day he said a prayer with every stroke of the clock, and at night he returned to the grove. Still he found no relief, only more agony at the stubbornness of his heart. When morning came, Phinehas determined to pray with every breath, "Lord have mercy on me a sinner." Finally he "cast [him]self down, helpless and undone, at Jesus' feet."[5] In his ultimate submission, Phinehas finally experienced a

change of heart and felt the joy of salvation.

Upon his conversion, Phinehas decided to further the Lord's work by becoming a minister after completing his apprenticeship. Trusting that God had a plan for him, he found work as a journeyman with a clockmaker and Methodist minister in Hanover, New Hampshire. Phinehas soon concluded that the Reverend Mr. Baldwin was not an honest man and the company he was forced to keep was profane. Living in a Methodist family, he "found no intercourse with any respectable people"[6] and endured much taunting for his piety.

Having lived near the Connecticut River all his life, Phinehas Bailey moved to Vermont for the first time in the spring of 1809. It was like starting a new life. Settling in Chelsea, he learned of a man who had some clockmaking tools to sell. Phinehas convinced the former clockmaker to set up shop with him and a thriving partnership began. The Chelsea Congregational Church provided a sympathetic social network, and Bailey soon decided that his religious principles were more in line with Congregationalism than Methodism. Even before he joined the church, he met a young woman in the choir who had been described to him as one of the "likeliest" in town. He began visiting Janette MacArthur's family regularly, though it took him six months to find the courage to speak directly to Janette. Once the ice was broken, however, the pace of the romance picked up. In 1810 they married, and Phinehas, confident of continued

success in his craft, bought a house in Chelsea.

Unfortunately, the main product of the Chelsea shop--handcrafted brass clocks--could not compete with the sudden flood of mass-produced wooden clocks that swept the market within a few years of Bailey's hopeful beginning. With his business increasingly undercut, the young clockmaker employed faith and frugality to keep up with his debts. When he finally quit the business in 1816, Phinehas Bailey claimed to be one of the last brass clockmakers in New England.[7]

With the addition of two children to his family by 1816, Phinehas, now twenty-nine years old, could spend neither the time nor money to pursue a theological education, though becoming a minister remained his greatest ambition. Instead, he installed his toolbox on a small carriage and took to the road as a traveling repairman, fixing watches, clocks, pots and pans, and just about everything else. Charging modest prices for his work, Phinehas found enough business to support his family. He also made an effort to "recommend the religion of Christ" to all he met. In Randolph, Vermont, he enjoyed the company of several "pious youth" while making a repair call, and in Norwich he stimulated some interest in salvation at the home of another client. His appearance of sincerity and almost intimidating good looks undoubtedly increased Bailey's effectiveness as an evangelist. It seemed only natural that, while making a repair visit in

Franconia, New Hampshire, Bailey was asked to intervene in a long-standing dispute between two church members. He resolved the dispute and helped spark a religious revival but had to disappoint his new friends by returning home to Chelsea.

Bailey's desire to become a minister received special urgency during a powerful revival in Chelsea in 1818. Seventy people found salvation, and a ball planned by some of the young people in town was halted at the last minute by a combination of prayer and divine intervention--in the guise of a terrific thunderstorm! Thereafter, the prospect of becoming a minister was on Bailey's mind "day and night."

While on the road, Phinehas spent his spare time reading borrcwed books. Sometime in the late 1810s, he came across a shorthand manual, one of many shorthand books in circulation at the time, and quickly mastered the art. Making some improvements of his own, the traveling repairman added teaching shorthand to his list of skills for hire. The response greatly surprised Phinehas. In many towns, he could gather ministers, teachers, students, and others in shorthand classes and earn as much as $100 a month (more than he ever earned in subsequent years as a minister). Soon he left the tool wagon at home and began teaching shorthand full time, using his leisure time to study theology. He spent some time at Middlebury College, though not as a registered student. Back in Chelsea, he taught his two

sons shorthand and arranged to have them take down the sermons of the Reverend Calvin Noble in the Congregational Church.[8] In this way he collected hundreds of sermons for his studies.

Bailey made a few unspecified changes in the shorthand system he had learned from the manual and published his own edition in 1821.[9] Many systems in use at the time shared several problems. A multitude of awkward symbols slowed writing and, while symbols represented consonant sounds phonetically, no symbols distinguished the many sounds for each vowel. The latter problem bothered Phinehas, but he did not devise a fully phonetic system until 1831. His manual went through several editions, with minimal revisions in the 1820s.

Bailey's years of private theological study finally paid off in 1823 when the Orange County Association of Congregational Ministers licensed him to preach. He began his new career in Richmond, Vermont, and after a year moved to East Berkshire where he was ordained and installed in 1824. Berkshire, in the northwest corner of the state, proved a happy and prosperous field of labor for Bailey. He visited each home in town at least once a year, inquiring of all the residents their religious feelings. Church membership rose steadily. His parishioners remembered the Reverend Mr. Bailey as a stern but kind and patient minister. He made no compromise where theology was concerned, and

some considered him "more Calvinistic than Calvin."[10] In his memoirs, Phinehas mentions opening a school in Berkshire to teach shorthand, astronomy, and grammar.[11] The school also kept him in touch with young people, who were particularly susceptible to religious excitement.

During this time, Bailey became an early advocate of temperance, following an incident at the construction of the new parsonage in 1827. As with most house and barn raisings at that time, the workers were rewarded with rum. A beam dropped by two drunken workmen struck Bailey, injuring both his foot and his pride and narrowly sparing his life. Shortly thereafter, Bailey founded one of the first temperance societies in the state, attracting at first only three families from his congregation but within three years the whole church.[12]

In the midst of the largest statewide revival ever experienced by the Congregational church, Phinehas Bailey published a new and completely revised shorthand manual. Bailey's new system, which he called Phonography, was based on a simple, innovative principle: each speech sound would be represented by one symbol, and each symbol would represent just one speech sound. Phonography promised both to improve the art of shorthand and to provide a new alphabet for spelling reform.[13]

Bailey's greatest accomplishment in 1831, however, was his work as a minister. Forty new members joined the East

Berkshire congregation that year, raising the membership to nearly twice the 1829 figure.[14] Half of Vermont's Congregational churches reported revivals in 1831, as statewide membership rose by 25 percent over a two-year period.[15] With such important advances in the cause of religion, shorthand remained a secondary concern for Bailey.

In 1833 Bailey decided to leave Berkshire after nine years for reasons he did not commit to paper. The congregation at first refused to dismiss him but finally consented. The minister found a new pulpit in Beekmantown, New York, and soon moved his family across Lake Champlain. He found a great deal of spiritual apathy in Beekmantown. The young people spent their idle hours engaged in unspecified "vain amusements," and those in the congregation who professed faith he found to be "very worldly minded." After a year of labor he made some progress by putting an end to the "vain amusements."[16]

Trouble began in the mid-1830s. Bailey's son Sylvester died of consumption in 1837 at the age of twenty-one.[17] His wife Janette became very sick, and two young daughters developed mysterious handicaps. Phinehas was not very happy with his work in Beekmantown and began to look for new opportunities.

In 1837 Bailey accepted an offer to publish a periodical for the Berean Society, a group of Christians who promoted daily study of the Scriptures. His daughter

writes that he had considered such an enterprise for many years, and his offspring credit him with inventing the Bible study system by which all churches and Sunday schools study the same passage simultaneously.[18] The concept was employed with great success later in the century.

Unfortunately, the late 1830s was not a propitious time for new religious publications. A devastating economic depression began in 1837, and Bailey's investors were unable to provide promised support. Contributions to benevolent societies lagged as many people had little enough to spend for their own necessities. Churches looking for ministers often decided to wait for better times. Bailey found himself unemployed and with little prospect of finding an available pulpit. Furthermore, few people could afford to hire him for craft work or shorthand lessons.

To make matters worse, Janette Bailey died in August 1839, leaving Phinehas to care for three small children, two of them with afflictions. A series of entries from the minister's journal reveals the discouragements he faced with unwavering faith in God:

> Essex, Monday, September 2, 1839. Started a journey South. Borrowed a dollar of Brother Fisk [of Waitsfield, Vt.] to bear my expenses. Left not one cent at home for my dear children. I feel some faith in God that he will take care of me and them and will return me again safe to their embrace: and that he will graciously prosper my way. I feel a humble determination to live more devoted to God than ever I have before. . . .

> Arrived in Westport. Attempted to get a class in stenography but without success.
>
> Tuesday, September 3. This day is appointed by the Female Moral Reform Society as a day of fasting and prayer. I left directions with my family to observe the fast. As their health is feeble, they fast only till noon. I propose to fast till three o'clock. . . .
>
> Wednesday, September 4. Had a blessed season yesterday in fasting and prayer, but God for wise purposes did not prosper me in the business of stenography. Perhaps he has something better in store. . . .
>
> It is my special request this morning that God will direct my steps in the path of duty. . . . I feel more weaned from the world than I ever did before.[19]

Phinehas finally found an available pulpit in Ticonderoga, New York, and accepted an offer to settle there. Immediately he set about the next task: to find a new wife. Upon returning to Waitsfield to pay back the dollar he had borrowed from Brother Fisk, he was introduced to Fisk's sister Betsey, thirty-five years old and unmarried. None of the shyness of his first courtship appeared this time: two days after meeting Betsey Fisk, Phinehas proposed, and they were married a month later.[20]

Ticonderoga proved even less satisfactory to Bailey than Beekmantown. Although the renowned revivalist Jedidiah Burchard had recently held a successful revival there, Phinehas once again found many "loose and worldly minded" church members and many backsliders: revival converts who had "gone back like the dog to his vomit and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire."[21]

Bailey stayed in Ticonderoga for eighteen months and then found a new pulpit in Hebron, New York.

Meanwhile, Bailey's oldest son Keyes moved to New York City where he began to promote Phonography through his own editions of his father's shorthand manual. The task which Keyes took on was one for which Phinehas had little time and perhaps little inclination. By this time other shorthand scholars had developed phonetic systems, and the advantages of the phonetic principle began to attract attention. Keyes published The Reporter's Guide, a revised and much improved version of Phonography, in 1845.[22] But the Baileys had to compete with a well-financed campaign by Benn Pitman, whose brother Isaac had introduced a highly successful shorthand system--also called Phonography--in England in 1837. During the 1840s, Benn Pitman traveled from city to city in the eastern United States, setting up schools to teach Pitman's Phonography. Success depended upon the ability of the entrepreneur to attract a wide following, and the Pitmans, well known and well financed, clearly had the advantage over their American competitors.

Phinehas was apparently satisfied to let his son promote Phonography, though the elder Bailey published one more edition of his manual in 1852.[23] Bailey resigned from the pulpit in Hebron in 1845 and made inquiries about the possibility of returning to East Berkshire to preach. After receiving great encouragement from old friends, he

returned to labor in his most successful church in the fall of 1845, convinced that his departure twelve years earlier had been a grievous error.[24]

Though he was much happier in East Berkshire, Bailey's troubles continued. Betsey Fisk Bailey died in 1847, leaving her sixty-year-old husband with a feeble infant, a three-year-old daughter, and several other children. Once again the Lord provided. Less than four months after Betsey's death, Phinehas met Hannah Edwards of Morrisville. They met on July 2, 1847, and were married three days later.[25]

Phinehas changed pulpits once more, moving in 1852 to Albany, Vermont, where he preached until retiring in 1860. Though he left behind no clear explanation for the move, it may be that the Albany church offered Bailey a better salary and greater security as he grew older. He bought a small farm in Albany to help make ends meet and probably gave occasional lessons in shorthand. Bailey also derived some income from making jewelry. He wrote to his daughter in 1859 that he had been "for several days . . . quite favored with young ladies' company," in demand for bosom pins and baubles.[26]

Despite the income he earned from making jewelry, Bailey's financial situation after he retired was precarious. His youngest daughter Louisa eased the burden somewhat when in 1859 she moved to a boarding school at the expense of an uncle. Left alone with Hannah, the aging minister wrote

affectionate letters to Louisa, shaded with a pathos absent from his memoirs. On one occasion he walked twelve miles to get a ride to Morgan, Vermont, where he had arranged to preach for one Sabbath for five dollars. Then he rode twenty-three miles more in pouring rain, and as for the stipend, he wrote, "I owe it all and more too."[27] The rain seemed to have little effect on his health, but on other occasions he suffered greatly from attacks of rheumatism. On one Sunday in October 1859, he was forced to turn around for home after arriving at church because he couldn't tie the horse. Back home, he was "a long time crawling in the house and on to the bed."[28]

In 1860 and again in 1861, Bailey received $100 from the Fairbanks Fund for destitute ministers[29] and earned some additional money giving lectures and sermons. Perhaps his most interesting lecture was a defense of Freemasonry. Bailey had been a Freemason since 1824, and in 1860 he was asked to deliver a lecture to the lodge. Soon afterwards, a group of anti-Masons challenged him to deliver the same lecture in public. Phinehas complied and succeeded in defending Masonry well enough to silence most of his critics. He noted privately, however, that the Masons had given him five dollars, while the anti-Masons gave him "nothing but a hearing."[30]

Bailey's daughter admitted that her father, a man of "strong will and great force of character," made some enemies

during his lifetime.[31] He was particularly troubled in his last two years by a persistent enemy whose motivations for maligning Bailey are not clear. Horace Durkee, a deacon of the Albany church, brought several charges against Bailey in informal church hearings. First, Durkee accused Bailey of trying to prevent the Vermont Domestic Missionary Service, a Congregational agency that provided relief to destitute churches, from granting aid to the Reverend Asahel Gray, who replaced Bailey in the Albany pulpit in 1860. Bailey denied the charge and claimed that no evidence had ever been presented to support it. Next, Durkee claimed that Bailey was "actively engaged in Masonry"--a charge which may have been at the root of Durkee's enmity but which proved irrelevant to the great majority of the Congregationalists in 1860. Finally, Durkee asserted that because Bailey had been given a letter of dismissal, he no longer belonged to the Albany church. The church council swiftly admitted Bailey to full membership.[32]

At one point, Durkee became so indignant that he asked for a letter of dismissal to join the Methodist church. He was refused, much to Bailey's regret. The minister was fully vindicated by the Orleans Association of Congregational Ministers when they voted unanimously, in Bailey's words, "that Horace Durkee is doing wrong and ought to be dealt with and that he ought to have no letter excepting a letter of admonition. . . ." Yet Bailey continued to worry that

Durkee would try to "pull another string" in order to make more trouble.[33]

Despite his daughter's claim that Phinehas Bailey "spent his last days very happily,"[34] the elderly minister endured many hardships as he waited for his final reward. The Calvinist preacher, silversmith, clockmaker, temperance advocate, Freemason, and inventor passed away on December 14, 1861. He was buried next to his second wife Betsey in the cemetery behind the church in East Berkshire where he spent his best years. His life had not been easy, but he could rest in the knowledge that he had saved many souls and served his people with dedication and sincerity.

Bailey's major legacy, Phonography, became a subject of dispute many years after the inventor had died and the invention itself had been forgotten by all save family and friends. It is impossible to estimate with any accuracy how many people learned Bailey's Phonography in the nineteenth century, but evidently neither Phinehas nor Keyes succeeded in establishing long-lasting shorthand schools as Pitman did. By 1884, when the demand for shorthand reporters began to mushroom, the United States Bureau of Education found that there were three hundred shorthand schools operating in the United States and most of them taught some version of Pitman's Phonography. None taught Bailey's system.[35]

Pitman's Phonography may have been easier to use than

Bailey's, but ease is a subjective quality and cannot in itself explain the predominance of one or another system. Pitman attempted to make his system consistent by devising an alphabet that recognized the similarities of certain sounds. A "whispered" (soft) consonant, for instance, could be turned into a "spoken" (hard) consonant by shading, that is, making the symbol broader and darker.[36] Some found this practice less efficient of hand movement, though easier to learn, than a long list of different symbols.

The linguistic merits of phonetic shorthand were exaggerated by its promoters. One writer claimed in the 1870s that

> Phinehas Bailey gives . . . as complete an analysis of the elements of our language as exists in the works of any phonetician, and more complete than can be found in any lexicography. No consonant element, no fine shades of vowel sounds have been discovered and presented to the public, that Mr. Bailey had not discovered and presented in his little book fifty-seven years ago, away among the green mountains of Old Vermont.[37]

Bailey may have seemed a pioneer to the shorthand reporter of the 1870s, but linguists would soon require an analysis that went far beyond Bailey's "fine shades." The practical use of a phonetic alphabet for such purposes as speech therapy demanded a scientific approach to speech. The first workable international phonetic alphabet was introduced by the International Phonetic Association in 1888. It is worthy of note that Bailey's "one sound, one

symbol" principle appeared as the first rule of the new alphabet.[38]

Though inadequate as a linguistic tool, phonetic shorthand stimulated interest in the problem of translating speech sounds from one language to another. Well before shorthand became indispensable to the commercial world, foreign missionaries relied upon phonetic alphabets to translate the Scriptures into strange, unwritten languages. This was a task undertaken with great success by Bailey's daughter Louisa and her husband the Reverend Joel Whitney during their tenure as missionaries to Micronesia in the 1870s. Louisa and Joel employed a phonetic Roman alphabet already long in use by the missionaries to Hawaii, where most of the material for the Micronesian missions was printed. The Whitneys clearly had an advantage in their years of exposure to Bailey's Phonography.

When Louisa and Joel returned to the Champlain Valley in 1882, controversy over the true origin of Phonography developed. Reports of a "Yankee Pitman"--a New Englander who had invented Phonography before the Englishman--appeared in some of the new shorthand and business magazines. Traditionally, shorthand had been employed mainly by men of learning, and consequently it developed a kind of scholarly mythology, complete with a pantheon of godlike creators named Willis, Byrom, Gurney, and Pitman. Most scholars found little reason to place Phinehas Bailey

among these Olympians. Mr. John Watson, in the April 1890 edition of the Shorthand Review, claimed there was no evidence that Bailey had produced a truly phonetic shorthand system before Issac Pitman.[39] The missing links in the dispute were Bailey's 1831 manual and a second edition published in 1833, three years before Pitman made his system public. The 1833 edition was probably known to collectors and some shorthand scholars because several copies still exist. The only known copy of the 1831 edition, however, remained in the hands of Bailey's offspring and was not revealed to the public until 1902.

An interesting story in response to John Watson's assertion appeared in the Shorthand Review three months later. The writer claimed that when Bailey invented Phonography in 1819, he immediately reported his invention to English parliamentary reporters. These professional stenographers, the story goes, were so impressed that they formed the first "English phonographic society," which attracted the talents of Isaac Pitman, a country schoolteacher. Inspired by Bailey's idea, Pitman developed his own system and borrowed the name Phonography from Bailey.[40]

The story is probably apocryphal. In the first place, Bailey did not introduce Phonography until 1831 by which time it seems likely that Pitman was already thinking along similar lines. Furthermore, it seems improbable that Bailey would report his invention to English parliamentary reporters

or that they would be so inspired by the idea but completely forget its source.

Watson's response merits quotation:

> According to Mr. Longley, and we can have no better authority, Isaac Pitman was, in 1848, "the generally acknowledged inventor of Phonography," and, I may add, will doubtless so remain in the thoughts of all fair minded persons, despite the hosts of helpers claimed on one hand, and the alleged "real inventor" Phinehas Bailey, on the other. That Mr. Pitman "procured the material for his first publication" from those who had been in the world before him is a half-truth that must be admitted, since there was evidently no way of escaping the difficulty. His worthy experimenting predecessors had been for centuries making their cleverest moves on the stenographic checkerboard and Isacc Pitman finally won the game; that is where the shoe pinches imitators and rivals alike.[41]

Phinehas Bailey probably never appreciated the dialectics of shorthand, but he did at last receive a measure of public recognition when his son-in-law Joel Whitney read a biography of the late inventor and displayed the disputed 1831 manual to an admiring crowd at a 1902 shorthand convention in New York City.[42] The following year, a group of shorthand scholars organized as the Willis-Byrom Club published Baileyana, a memorial to Phinehas Bailey complete with samples of his shorthand type and a facsimile of the 1831 manual.[43]

The value of a consistent, rapid shorthand system became apparent after the Civil War as society became increasingly complex and fast-paced. Journalists found

shorthand indispensable, courts of law began hiring professional reporters, and soon businessmen demanded highly skilled secretaries.[44] But these were changes Phinehas Bailey never foresaw. The pious inventor first found in Phonography a means to secure an education and a modest income and only later considered the great improvements that could be made in the art. In his broadest vision, Bailey may have seen in Phonography a reform that would improve communications through simplified spelling. Though blessed with superior mechanical skills and an innovative mind, Phinehas Bailey was above all a man of God. His life serves as a poignant reminder that the roots of technological change often lie in humble, unsophisticated soil.

NOTES

1. "Memoirs of Rev. Phinehas Bailey, written by himself," 1. This incomplete typescript in the Bennington Museum's Phinehas Bailey Collection contains about four pages omitted from the fifty-five-page typescript of the same title in the Vermont Historical Society Library, Montpelier. The memoirs were transcribed in 1902 by Bailey's daughter Louisa Whitney who apparently thought it inappropriate to publicize her grandparents' marital problems. Anyone lacking Louisa's sense of propriety may find the true story of Asa Bailey's villainy--which included incest and infidelity--in Abigail Bailey's memoirs (Ethan Smith, ed., Memoirs of Mrs. Abigail Bailey, who has been the wife of Major Asa Bailey . . . [Boston, 1815]).

An interesting but uncritical biography of Phinehas Bailey, written by his daughter Persis Lorette, can be found in Marcus Gilman, Bibliography of Vermont (Burlington, 1897), 17-19.

Except where otherwise noted, this article follows the "Memoirs" in the Vermont Historical Society Library.

2. Phinehas Bailey, "Memoirs," 7.

3. Young people, facing the challenge of entering the adult world, comprised the great majority of revival converts. Robert David Thomas gives a fascinating interpretation of young John Humphrey Noyes's social development in the midst of religious excitement in The Man Who Would Be Perfect (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977). Though their personalities were very different, Noyes and Bailey shared many anxieties and went through a similar process of integration into the adult world.

4. Phinehas Bailey, "Memoirs," 9-10.

5. Ibid., 10.

6. Ibid., 13.

7. Ibid., 16.

8. J. A. Keyes, Among the Early Chelseans (n.p., 1885), 18-19.

9. Although Bailey writes that he published his first manual in 1819, the earliest known edition is dated 1821.

10. See M. Benton Hall to Rev. Joel F. Whitney, 1902, Phinehas Bailey Papers, Bennington Museum. The remark about Calvinism is quoted in Gilman, Bibliography, 19.

11. Phinehas Bailey, "Memoirs," 35.

12. Ibid.

13. Phinehas never expounded upon the idea of spelling reform, but his son Keyes believed that children, by using the Phonographic instead of the Roman alphabet, could "learn to read in as many months as they now require years" (Keyes A. Bailey, A Practical Exposition of Phonography [New York, 1848], 39).

14. Minutes of the General Convention of Congregational and Presbyterian Ministers in Vermont, 1829, 17; 1832, 16.

15. Minutes of the General Convention of Congregational and Presbyterian Ministers in Vermont, 1831, 7; 1832, 19.

16. Phinehas Bailey, "Memoirs," 35.

17. Obituary, Bailey-Hopkins scrapbook, Francis L. Hopkins Collection, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont (hereafter cited as FLH Collection). The Hopkins collection also contains the correspondence of Phinehas Bailey and his descendants.

18. Gilman, Bibliography, 19.

19. Phinehas Bailey, "Memoirs," 43-44.

20. Ibid., 45-46.

21. Ibid., 46.

22. Keyes A. Bailey, The Reporter's Guide (New York, 1845).

23. Phinehas Bailey, Phonography: Containing a Complete System of Shorthand Writing (St. Albans, 1852).

24. Phinehas Bailey, "Memoirs," 49. His daughter wrote, "We think his trials and afflictions were never afterward as great as in the previous years" (Gilman, Bibliography, 19).

25. Phinehas Bailey, "Memoirs," 52.

26. Bailey to his daughter Louisa, September 19, 1859, FLH Collection.

27. Bailey to his daughter Louisa, September 24, 1861, FLH Collection.

28. Bailey to his daughter Louisa, October 22, 1859, FLH Collection.

29. Minutes of the General Convention of Congregational Ministers, 1861, 12; 1862, 8.

30. Bailey to his daughter Louisa, March 16, 1860, FLH Collection.

31. Gilman, Bibliography, 19.

32. Draft of a letter to Rev. J. F. Stone, February 1, 1861, FLH Collection.

33. Bailey to his daughter Louisa, January 22, 1861, FLH Collection.

34. Gilman, Bibliography, 19.

35. J. E. Rockwell, The Teaching, Practice, and Literature of Shorthand, U. S. Bureau of Education Circular of Information, no. 2, 1884 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1884), 46, 49.

36. See S. P. Andrews and Augustus F. Boyle, The Complete Phonographic Class-book . . . of Pitman's Phonography (New York, 1848).

37. Scott Brown, in the Phonographic Monthly, as quoted by Mrs. P. L. Hopkins in Gilman, Bibliography, 18.

38. International Phonetic Association, The Principles of the International Phonetic Association (reprint, 1949; n.p., 1958), inside back cover. See also William R. Tiffany and James Carrell, Phonetics, Theory and Application, 2d ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977), 50.

39. As cited by E. R. Colebrook, "The Invention of Phonography," Shorthand Review 2 (August 1890).

40. Ibid.

41. John Watson, "Pitman or Bailey, Which?" Shorthand Review 2, no. 8 (August 1890):125.

42. See Charles C. Beale, "A Yankee Pitman," National Shorthand Reporter 1, no. 1 (January 1903):6-8.

43. Baileyana, Collections, Biographical and Bibliographical, concerning the Late Rev. Phinehas Bailey, of Vermont, U. S. A. (n.p., Willis-Byrom Club, 1903).

44. For example, Richard L. Strout relates the story of a news reporter who "scooped" his rivals covering a Lincoln-Douglas debate in 1854 by using Phonography. "A. Lincoln: His Debates with Douglas May Have Lost Him the Senate, But They Won Him the Presidency," Christian Science Monitor, February 10, 1983, 12-13.

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Occasional Paper No. Seven, "From Ferment to Fatigue? 1870-1900: A New Look at the Neglected Winter of Vermont," by H. Nicholas Muller, III, 24 pp., 1984. Examines Vermont's history in the post-Civil War era and assesses the historiography of the period, finding its emphasis on decline incompatible with recent evidence; concludes by calling upon researchers to develop greater understanding of a neglected period in Vermont's past.

Occasional Paper No. Eight, "Relationships between School Taxes and Town Taxes in Vermont Local Government," by Leonard J. Tashman and Michael J. Munson, 35 pp., 1984. Discusses how voter tax commitments to school and town budgets relate to each other and to a community's size and wealth.

CATALOGUES

University of Vermont Bailey/Howe Library Folklore and Oral History Catalogue, 58 pp., 1981. Provides descriptive listings and shelf numbers for five collections housed in the UVM Archives of Folklore and Oral History: College of Medicine, Institutional, Political, Vermont Landscape Artists, and Folklore; includes index to Folklore Collection.

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Focus: Vermont 1975, edited by George B. Bryan, 21 pp., 1975. Presents papers delivered at a March 22, 1975 conference sponsored by the Center on such diverse subjects as music in Vermont, Vermont in maps, and the Vermont Data Bank; concludes with a plea to publish so that Vermonters might become more conscious of their heritage. Out of print; photocopies available for a fee.

Data Collection: Individual Rights to Privacy versus Public Program Needs, edited by D. Gregory Sanford, Mary B. Deming, and Frederick E. Schmidt, 55 pp., 1977. Summarizes addresses and remarks delivered at a November 6, 1976 conference sponsored by the Center and funded in part by a grant from the Vermont Council on the Humanities and Public Issues, and the UVM College of Arts and Sciences.

Vermont's Heritage: A Working Conference for Teachers--Plans, Proposals, and Needs, edited by Marshall True, Mary Woodruff, and Kristin Peterson-Ishaq, 127 pp., 1983. Incorporates scholars' presentations and curricular projects developed by participants at a July 8-10, 1983 conference partially supported by a matching grant from the Vermont Council on the Humanities and Public Issues.

Teaching Vermont's Heritage: Proceedings of the Second Working Conference on Vermont's Heritage for Teachers, edited by Marshall True, Mary Woodruff, and Kristin Peterson-Ishaq, 150 pp., 1984. Contains scholars' presentations and curricular projects developed by participants at a July 9-13, 1984 conference partially supported by a matching grant from the Vermont Council on the Humanities and Public Issues.

SUPPLEMENT

"University of Vermont Graduate College Theses on Vermont Topics in Arts and Sciences," 30 pp., 1982, supplement to Occasional Paper No. One; provides abstracts of theses on Vermont topics in arts and sciences completed between Spring 1978 and Fall 1982.